

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LISBON 05642 01 OF 02 271513Z

53

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 AF-04 ISO-00 SAM-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 NIC-01 IO-10 /073 W

----- 046850

R 271200Z DEC 74

FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1321

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMCONSUL LUANDA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMCONSUL OPORTO

AMCONSUL PONTA DELGADA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LISBON 5642

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT PO

SUBJ: RESULTS OF SOCIALIST PARTY CONGRESS: FROM "SOCIALISM
IN LIBERTY" TO "SOCIALIST REVOLUTION"

SUMMARY: RESULTS OF RECENT 3-DAY CONGRESS OF SOCIALIST PARTY
SHOW SHARP DIFFERENCES AND EXISTENCE OF AT LEAST TWO TENDENCIES
WITHIN PARTY. ALMOST 40 PERCENT OF PARTY DID NOT SUPPORT MARIO
SOARES' COMPROMISE LIST OF LEADERS IN ELECTION FOR IMPORTANT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LISBON 05642 01 OF 02 271513Z

NATIONAL COMMISSION. THIS NEW 151-MAN BODY CONTAINS LARGE

PERCENTAGE OF MARXISTS AND RADICAL SUPPORTERS OF MANUEL SERRA, WHO TURNED OUT TO BE OPEN LEADER OF PS' LEFT WING (ALONG WITH SOTTOMAYOR CARDIA, A BEHIND-THE-SCENES MANEUVERER) AND MAIN ELECTORAL COMPETITOR OF SOARES DURING CONGRESS. PRICE FOR VICTORY OF SOARES' LIST OF LEADERS WAS RELUCTANT SACRIFICE OF MANY OF HIS CENTRIST FRIENDS AND COLLEAGUES WHO REPLACED BY MARXIST NEWCOMERS. NEW LEADERSHIP HAS MANDATE TO PURSUE LEFTIST-ORIENTED PROGRAM; IF LEADERSHIP PROVES UNABLE OR UNWILLING TO ACCOMPLISH THIS TASK PARTY UNITY WILL BE JEOPARDIZED. MAIN RESULT OF CONGRESS IS THAT SOCIALIST PARTY WILL AT VERY LEAST BE VERBALLY MORE MILITANT IN FUTURE. CONGRESS DID NOT HAVE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS FOREIGN POLICY ASPECTS OF SOCIALIST PROGRAM. NATIONAL COMMISSION WILL DEAL WITH THIS TOPIC IN JANUARY, ESTABLISHING PARTY'S STANCE VIS-A-VIS NATO AND LAJES AT THAT TIME. LIKEWISE CONGRESS DID NOT TAKE UP QUESTION OF COMMON FRONT AFTER ELECTIONS WITH PCP. HOWEVER, SOARES, AFTER CONGRESS, FLATLY STATED TO LOCAL NEWS MAGAZINE THAT "ON NATIONAL POLITICAL HORIZON THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY WHATSOEVER OF A 'COMMON PROGRAM' FOR GOVERNMENT BETWEEN PS AND PCP". END SUMMARY.

1. WITH SOME 900 NATIONAL DELEGATES AND 120 FOREIGN OBSERVERS PRESENT, PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST PARTY MET DEC 13-15 TO ADOPT PS POLITICAL LINE, APPROVE A NEW PARTY PROGRAM AND NEW STATUTES, AND ELECT A NEW SET OF LEADERS TO REPLACE THOSE SELF-APPOINTED AT 1ST PARTY CONGRESS IN MAY 1973. EXCEPT FOR NEAR UNANIMOUS VOTE RECONFIRMING MARIO SOARES AS SECRETARY GENERAL, RESULTS OF CONGRESS VOTING SHOW THAT PARTY ABOUT EVENLY DIVIDED BETWEEN A MORE MODERATE "GO SLOW" FACTION LED BY SOARES (AND INCLUDING MANY OF PREVIOUS PARTY LEADERS), AND A "REVOLUTION NOW" GROUP LED BY MANUEL SERRA, CHIEF OF EX-AUTONOMOUS SPLINTER GROUP KNOWN AS MOVIMENTO SOCIALISTA PORTUGUES (MSP). INDICATIVE OF DEPTH OF DIFFERENCES IN PARTY IS FACT THAT ONLY ONE OF DOZENS OF MOTIONS AND RESOLUTIONS OFFERED UP FOR VOTE APPROVED UNANIMOUSLY. (IN CONTRAST, PPD AND PCP CONGRESSES MARKED BY UNANIMITY ON VOTES).

2. QUESTION WHICH OCCUPIED MUCH OF CONGRESS' TIME WAS ELECTION TO LEADERSHIP BODIES. A NEW 151-MEMBER GROUP CALLED NATIONAL COMMISSION CREATED, HAVING FUNCTIONS SIMILAR TO THAT OF A LEGISLATIVE BODY, WHICH WILL MEET EVERY 4 MONTHS. NATIONAL
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LISBON 05642 01 OF 02 271513Z

COMMISSION TO CHOOSE 39-MAN DIRECTORATE AND 13-MAN SECRETARIAT, AND APPROVE BY JAN 30 THOSE PARTS OF PARTY PROGRAM WHICH CONGRESS DID NOT HAVE TIME TO DISCUSS. TWO SLATES OF CANDIDATES PUT UP FOR THIS NEW ORGAN. ALTHOUGH MANY OF SAME PERSONS ON BOTH LISTS, INCLUDING MARIO SOARES AND MANUEL SERRA, LISTS DIFFERED IN THAT ONE LIST (MANUEL SERRA-SPONSORED, LIST B) CONTAINED MANY MORE RADICALS AND FEWER MODERATES THAN LIST A, WHICH SPONSORED BY SOARES AND POLITICAL COMMISSION. REPS OF EACH SIDE HAD HARSH

WORDS TO SAY ABOUT OTHER PRIOR TO VOTING. FINAL VOTE WAS 466 FOR SOARES-LED LIST A, AND 261 VOTES FOR SERRA'S LIST B, OF 67 PERCENT VERSUS 33 PERCENT. (VOTE FOR MEMBERSHIP OF ANOTHER NEW BODY CALLED NATIONAL CONFLICT COMMISSION EVEN CLOSER AT 417 FOR LIST A AND 323 FOR LIST B).

3. VICTORIOUS LIST A INCLUDES ONLY HALF OF OLD 60-MAN NATIONAL DIRECTORATE AND MANY SERRA SUPPORTERS. MANY MODERATES AND CLOSE SOARES AIDES LIKE VICTOR CUNHA REGO, BERNARDINO DO CARMO GOMES, AND ALFREDO BARROSO PURGES FROM PS LEADERSHIP. THEY AND MANY OTHERS WHO CONSIDERED THEMSELVES SOCIALIST CENTRISTS WERE DROPPED FROM LIST A WHEN COMPROMISE BECAME NECESSARY ON THIRD DAY OF CONGRESS, AND WERE REPLACED BY MARXIST NEWCOMERS. WE UNDERSTAND THAT MANY OF THOSE NOT RETURNING WERE NOT FULL-TIME PARTY WORKERS. MANY, BECAUSE OF THEIR WORK IN MINISTRIES, COULD NOT DEVOTE FULL TIME TO PARTY, AND HENCE WERE LESS VISIBLE AND THUS EASIER TO DUMP THAN ACTIVISTS. HOWEVER, MAIN CONSIDERATION WHICH WENT INTO SELECTION OF MEMBERS OF LIST A WAS NEED TO INCLUDE MORE MEMBERS OF MARXIST LEFT WING IN ORDER TO ENSURE A SOARES VICTORY AGAINST SERRA'S MORE "ADVENTUROUS" LIST.

4. CONGRESS DID NOT HAVE TIME TO COMPLETE DISCUSSION OF FULL DRAFT PROGRAM. HOWEVER ALL CHANGES MADE IN PROGRAM EMPHASIZED NON-DOGMATIC MARXIST LINE OF PARTY, AND SPECIFICALLY REJECTED CAPITALISM AND SOCIAL DEMOCRACY (READ PPD) AS SOLUTIONS FOR PORTUGAL'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. ATTEMPTS OF PS'S SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC ELEMENTS TO GET PARTY TO ACCEPT MORE MODERATE PROGRAM OVERWHELMINGLY REJECTED BY CONGRESS, AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATS OUSTED FROM LEADERSHIP BODIES. SHORT-TERM MEASURES IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC FIELD SUPPORTED BY CONGRESS ARE FARTHER LEFT THAN THOSE ADOPTED BY ANY OTHER MAJOR POLITICAL PARTY, INCLUDING COMMUNIST.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 LISBON 05642 01 OF 02 271513Z

5. SYMPTOMATIC OF MARKED SHIFT TO LEFT IN SOCIALIST PROGRAM IS CHANGE MADE IN THAT PART OF PROGRAM DEVOTED TO DEFINITION OF IDEOLOGICAL UNDERPINNING OF PARTY. OLD PROGRAM STATED "THEORETICAL INSPIRATION OF PARTY PREDOMINANTLY MARXISM" NEW VERSION SIMPLY STATES "MARXISM IS THEORETICAL INSPIRATION" OF PARTY. LIKEWISE, ORIGINAL PROGRAM SAYS SOCIALISTS SEEK TO CONSTRUCT "SOCIALISM IN LIBERTY". THIS DROPPED IN FAVOR OF SOCIALISMO DE BASE", WHICH REFERS TO CONCEPT OF ORIENTATION OF PARTY BY THOSE AT BASE RATHER THAN TOP OF PARTY. THIS CONCEPT IS A VAGUE WAY OF SAYING SOCIALIST PARTY SHOULD BE MORE REVOLUTIONARY. SOARES HIMSELF, WHO OPENED CONGRESS WITH REFERENCE TO "SOCIALISM IN LIBERTY", CONCLUDED IT WITH A "VIVA" FOR SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.

6. CONGRESS DID NOT SPECIFICALLY PASS ANY MOTIONS OR RESOLU-

TIONS DEALING WITH QUESTION OF PRE OR POST-ELECTORAL COMMON FRONT WITH PCP OR OTHER PARTIES. PRESUMABLY SECRETARIAT OR NATIONAL DIRECTORATE WILL CONSIDER TACTICAL ALLIANCES AT FUTURE DATE. HOWEVER, SOARES MADE HIS PERSONAL VIEW KNOWN SHORTLY AFTER CONGRESS IN INTERVIEW WITH WEEKLY NEWS MAGAZINE O SECULO ILLUSTRADO. ASKED IF A PCP-PS COMMON FRONT WOULD BE POSSIBLE IN EVENT OF AN ELECTORAL VICTORY BY THEM, SOARES STATED FLATLY "ON NATIONAL POLITICAL HORIZON THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY WHATSOEVER OF A 'COMMON PROGRAM' FOR GOVERNMENT BETWEEN PS AND PCP". (HE NOTED THAT HE HAD SUGGESTED THIS TO PCP SHORTLY AFTER APRIL 25, BUT PCP HAD NEVER FOLLOWED UP ON POSSIBILITY).

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LISBON 05642 02 OF 02 271519Z

53

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 AF-04 ISO-00 SAM-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 NIC-01 IO-10 /073 W

----- 046977

R 271200Z DEC 74

FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1322

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMCONSUL LUANDA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMCONSUL OPORTO

AMCONSUL PONTA DELGADA

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 2 OF 2 LISBON 5642

7. FINAL PROGRAM WILL NOT BE PUBLISHED UNTIL SOMETIME IN LATE JANUARY, AFTER PS' YOUTH WING HAS ELECTED ITS ALLOTTED 20 DELEGATES TO NATIONAL COMMISSION. NATIONAL COMMISSION WILL THEN DISCUSS INTERNATIONAL POLICY AND DRAFT OF CONSTITUTION THAT PARTY WILL PROPOSE FOR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY DISCUSSION AFTER MARCH ELECTIONS.

8. DRAFT OF NEW PARTY POSITION ON GOP FOREIGN POLICY NOT DISCUSSED AT CONGRESS FOR LACK OF TIME. NATIONAL COMMISSION
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LISBON 05642 02 OF 02 271519Z

WILL CONSIDER IT AT LATER DATE AND MAKE CHANGES IF NECESSARY. DRAFT TEXT DEFENDS FOREIGN POLICY OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND CALLS FOR ADOPTION OF POLICY OF PROGRESSIVE WITHDRAWAL FROM EXISTING POLITICAL AND MILITARY BLOCS LEADING TO A NON-ALIGNED POLICY. IN ORDER NOT TO PREJUDICE CONSOLIDATION OF DEMOCRACY IN COUNTRY, DRAFT DECLARES THAT ALLIANCES SHOULD BE BALANCED IN ORDER NOT TO INVOLVE PORTUGAL IN SUPER POWER QUARRELS. "BALANCED DIVERSIFICATION" SHOULD BE WATCHWORD. RELATIONS WITH ALL PROGRESSIVE COUNTRIES AGAINST IMPERIALISM, CAPITALISM, AND COLONIALISM DEMANDED IN THIS DRAFT. (COMMENT: ONE MODERATE SOCIALIST ON SOARES' STAFF HAS TOLD EMBOFF THAT THIS VERSION OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECTION MAY BE ALTERED MORE TOWARDS MODERATION. SOURCE SAID THAT NON-ALIGNMENT MAY BE DROPPED IN FAVOR OF SOME PHRASE SUCH AS "ENLARGING AND BALANCING" GOP FOREIGN RELATIONS. ATTENTION DRAWN TO FACT THAT EVEN RADICAL DRAFT VERSION DID NOT CALL FOR WITHDRAWAL FROM NATO, WHICH LEFTWINGERS IN PARTY FAVOR, NOR IS REFERENCE MADE TO END OF US USE OF LAJES.

9. ON STRUCTURAL SIDE, CONGRESS, AMONG OTHER CHANGES VOTED, AGREED TO ABOLISH TWO AUTONOMOUS GROUPS WHICH UP UNTIL CONGRESS HAD BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH PARTY. BOTH SMALL RADICAL AUTONOMOUS GROUP KNOWN AS GAPS AND SERRA'S MSP DISSOLVED AT REQUEST OF SOARES, WHO REAFFIRMED RIGHT OF TENDENCIES TO EXIST WITHIN PARTY, BUT NOT "ORGANIZED FACTIONS" WHOSE USEFULNESS, ACCORDING TO SOARES, HAS COME TO AN END. ALTHOUGH FORMALLY ABOLISHED, THESE PERSONALISTIC GROUPS CONTINUE TO EXIST INSIDE PARTY IN FACT.

10. TURNOUT BY FOREIGN OBSERVERS AT CONGRESS SUBSTANTIAL, AS BROTHER SOCIALIST PARTIES LINED UP IN SHOW OF SOLIDARITY AND SUPPORT FOR FLEDGLING PS. AMONG MANY FOREIGN DELEGATIONS PRESENT WERE: FRENCH, SWEDISH, BELGIAN, AUSTRIAN, TUNISIAN, LIBYAN AND ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTIES; BRITISH LABOR PARTY; CANADIAN NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY; DUTCH, NORWEGIAN AND NEW ZEALAND LABOR PARTIES; SWEDISH AND ITALIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES; GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (WHICH WAS BOOED ON PRESENTATION); AND ROMANIAN, YUGOSLAV, AND ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY REPS, AS WELL AS

MPLA, PAIGC, AND FRELIMO DELEGATES. SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL SENT HIGH LEVEL DELEGATION OF ITS PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY GENERAL. (INTERNATIONAL DID NOT SEND DELEGATION TO RECENT PPD CONGRESS, NOR DID BRITISH LABOR PARTY OR SWEDES). CURIOUSLY, COMMUNIST CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LISBON 05642 02 OF 02 271519Z

PARTIES OF ITALY, ROMANIA, SPAIN, AND YUGOSLAVIA, WHICH DID NOT SEND REPS TO RECENT PCP CONGRESS, WERE PRESENT AT SOCIALIST AFFAIR, TESTIMONY PERHAPS TO INTERNATIONAL PRESTIGE OF SOARES AND TO LOBBYING DONE IN THESE COUNTRIES BY HIGH-LEVEL PS REPS IN PAST.

11. COMMENT: INTERNAL EQUILIBRIUM IN PARTY HAS DEFINITELY SWUNG TO LEFT. PRICE FOR CONTINUED SUPPORT OF PARTY BY SERRA FACTION WILL BE RESPECT IN FUTURE FOR MARXIST LINE APPROVED BY CONGRESS, JUDGING FROM TENOR OF REMARKS MADE BY SERRA AFTER HIS LIST B DEFEATED. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER MODERATE PARTY LEADERS WILL BE WILLING AND ABLE TO CARRY OUT A PROGRAM OF WHICH MANY POINTS ARE MORE RADICAL THAN THEY WOULD HAVE LIKED. RECONCILING LEFT AND CENTRIS T WINGS IN PARTY WILL BE DIFFICULT JOB FOR SOARES, WHO WILL BE CONSTANTLY PRESSURED BY SERRA SUPPORTERS TO MAKE SURE THEIR INTERESTS ARE SATISFIED.

12. EXPECTATIONS ARE THAT SOCIALISTS WILL LOSE MUCH OF THEIR MODERATE ELECTORAL CLIENTELE AS RESULT OF NEW PARTY LINE, PICKING UP IN TURN SOME NON-AFFILIATED LEFTISTS WHO MIGHT HAVE VOTED FOR THE COMMUNISTS OR MDP. QUESTION OF WHETHER SOARES CAN KEEP EFFECTIVE CONTROL OF SOCIALIST PARTY IN DOUBT. IT VERY POSSIBLE THAT DISCIPLINED, FULL-TIME PARTY WORKERS LIKE SOTTOMAYOR CARDIA DJEZANUEL SERRA WILL WREST REAL CONTROL OF PARTY MACHINERY FROM GLOBE-TROTTERING SOARES IN COMING MONTHS, LEAVING HIM WITH TITLE OF SECRETARY GENERAL, BUT NOT REAL POWER. THIS POSSIBILITY MAY HAVE STIMULATED RECENT RUMOR THAT SOARES WOULD LEAVE FOREIGN MINISTRY TO BECOME MINISTER WITHOUT PORTFOLIO, IN ORDER HAVE GREATER TIME TO DEVOTE TO PARTY AFFAIRS (HIS RUMORED REPLACEMENT AS FONMIN: EITHER VICTOR ALVES OR MELO ANTUNES). ON EVE PARTY CONGRESS SOARES DENIED THIS RUMOR TO DCM, BUT GIVEN CONGRESS RESULTS, HE MAY BE RECONSIDERING IT. SCOTT

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SOCIALISM, POLITICAL PARTIES, MEETING REPORTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 27 DEC 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974LISBON05642
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740375-1032
From: LISBON
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t1974128/aaaaagqc.tel
Line Count: 320
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 28 MAR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <28 MAR 2002 by shawdg>; APPROVED <28 MAY 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: RESULTS OF SOCIALIST PARTY CONGRESS: FROM "SOCIALISM IN LIBERTY" TO "SOCIALIST REVOLUTION"
TAGS: PINT, PO
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005